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Item by T. ZAWADZKI - The protest of Party Writers:

MR. ZAWADZKI: In our previous broadcast we passed on to you the first information and rumors current in Warsaw about the protest of writers who are members of the Polish Communist Party sent to the highest Party authorities in the case of Prof. Leszek Kolakowski. On Thursday this matter already became widely known abroad. It was reported by Press Agencies and the Warsaw correspondent of such papers as the NEW YORK TIMES, LE MONDE, and the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG. There are certain slight differences between these accounts, but they do not concern fundamental problems. They make it possible today to present to you more fully the situation which emerged in the Warsaw section of the Union of Writers just before the meeting of the Party organization attached to the Warsaw section of the ZLP (Union of Polish Writers) which - the NEW YORK TIMES informs us - has been called for Friday.

More than 20 writers sent letters of protest to the Party authorities. The NEW YORK TIMES reports that there were 21 of them. The W. German DPA Press Agency reports that there were more than 20.

The first collective protest was signed by 15 writers. According to the Paris LE MONDE, this collective letter is said to have been followed by a memorandum, similar in content, sent to the Party CC by Ryszard Matuszewski, formerly, for many years, the literary critic of the Party monthly NOWE DROGI. Independently of Matuszewski's action, the protest of the first 15 (writers) was joined, in a separate communication, by six other writers.

In all these missives the signatories protested, in a serious tone, against the decision expelling their colleague in the Union of Writers, Prof. Leszek Kolakowski, from the Party, and called for its revision. At the same

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time they expressed keen anxiety at the direction which the Party's policy in relation to intellectuals was taking.

LE MONDE notes that only Party members have signed the present protest of writers.

On the basis of all the accounts existing now, one can recreate a list of those writers who addressed this collective petition and protest to the Party authorities. In view of the certain differences in the information coming from Poland, which we have already mentioned, we emphasize that there is a possibility of some slight inaccuracy in the list of signatories reconstructed by us. Here are their names: Jacek Bochenski, Flora Bienkowska, Marian Brandys, Tadeusz Drewnowski, Pawel Beylin, Marian Grzeszczak, Witold Dabrowski, Tadeusz Konwicki, Igor Newerly, Juliusz Stroynowski, Leon Przemski, Arnold Slucki, Seweryn Pollak, Witold Wirpsza, Julian Strykowski, Witold Woronszylski, Jerzy Pomianowski, Roman Karst, Andrzej Piwowarczyk, Wacław Zawadzki, Michał Mirski, and - separately - Ryszard Matuszewski.

Perhaps it might be worth noting that the young poet Grzeszoza is the secretary of the monthly POEZJA, which started to be published recently. Tadeusz Drewnowski is the director of the cultural section of the weekly POLITYKA. A number of the authors of the protest are known abroad through their works, which have appeared in translations into foreign languages. By way of an example we might mention such names as Konwicki, Newerly, Woronszylski, Strykowski, Bochenski, Karst.

How did the PZPR authorities treat the serious pronouncement, full of concern for the affairs of Polish culture, of the 20 prominent Party intellectuals, whose names are well-known at home and abroad? What attitude did they adopt towards the right of petition, guaranteed in the statute? The reaction of the Political Bureau was typical for present Party methods, and characteristic for the Party leadership's very unfriendly and distrustful attitude towards the intellectuals.

Those who signed the letter started to be summoned individually to the CC, for talks which - as one may surmise from their results - had rather the character of interrogations than of talks.

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The correspondents do not say exactly who conducted these investigations on behalf of the Party. Some versions speak about a commission which included as many as three members of the Political Bureau, which seems an exaggerated figure. Other versions mention in a general way that there were summons to appear before the Commission for Party Control, and speak of talks held with the writers by official representatives of the Party's cultural policy. But there can be no doubt that Zenon Kliszko and the Director of the Cultural Section of the CC, Wincenty Krasko, participated in these talks. It is also said that Roman Nowak, the Chairman of the Central Commission of Party Control, and Krasko's deputy, Aleksander Syczewski, took part in these talks as well. Rumors about Ryszard Strzelecki's lively interest in the action against the writers were also circulating.

In its correspondence from Warsaw LE MONDE reports that nearly all the signatories of the letter were suspended in their rights as Party members after the inquisitorial talks at the CC. Their case has been passed on to the Commission for Party Control. In the opinion of LE MONDE, only two of those who signed the letter have not been suspended, namely: Drewnowski and Grzeszczak. According to LE MONDE's information, also Igor Newerly is said to have handed in his Party card himself, as demonstrative proof of leaving the ranks of the PZPR.

Thus - very briefly, and on the basis of differing and incomplete information - can one today present the course of recent events in the milieu of Party writers. The matter is by no means a closed one. On Friday the Basic Party Organization of the Warsaw Section of the ZLP is to deal with the authors of the letter. Its First Secretary is Jerzy Putrament, who requires no closer characterization - he is the chief "politruk" of Kliszko and the Political Bureau among the writers. The Second Secretary of the BPO of the Warsaw writers is Janina Dziarnowska, well-known for the fact that last year, at the famous May meeting of the whole ZLP Section in Warsaw, she was one of the three persons voting in favor of maintaining the Stalinist Small Penal Code.

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20 Party writers felt morally obliged to come out in the defense of their Party comrade and colleague in the Union of Writers - Leon Kolakowski. The Friday meeting of the BPO of the Warsaw writers will be a test of the moral worth and loyalty to fellow-members of this milieu. Will they, on orders from Putrament and Dziarnowska, condemn and repudiate their courageous colleagues? Or will they, in the name of organizational solidarity and a sense of honour as Polish writers, come out in their defense?

The case of Prof. Kolakowski and the protest of the 21 writers is an exceptionally clear symptom of the internal situation in the PZPR. It is marked by the dissatisfaction of thinking people with the atmosphere created by the Party leadership, which suppresses all courage to think, freedom of discussion, and creative freedom. Most evidently people are not allowing themselves to be intimidated, and do not give way under pressures. For Communists of the Gomulka or Kliszko type the intellectuals are an element dangerous to the Party, almost a ballast. The ossified dogmatism represented by the highest representative of the Party's cultural policy, Zenon Kliszko, must arouse understandable opposition among people whose Party card does not deprive them of the ability to think, and for whom it is not exclusively a synonym for obedience to the authorities of the PZPR.

The intellectuals were one of the important factors preparing the Polish October. But already a year later they experienced the bitterness of disappointment and the first reprisals on the part of the new Party leadership. There ensued the liquidation of the weekly PO PROSTU, and the closing down of the monthly EUROPA, even before the first issue had appeared. It was then - as a sign of protest against the Party's cultural policy - that Jerzy Andrzejewski, Mieczyslaw Jastrun, Pawel Hertz, Juliusz Zulawski, Adam Wazyk, and Jan Kott, left its ranks.

Today again Gomulka and Kliszko - disquieted by the moods in the creative milieu - can find only threats, reprimands, and suspension or expulsion from the ranks of the PZPR, for the Party's writers. A Party which is afraid of independently thinking men, which is afraid of all discussion and criticism, afraid of free speech - is a weak one.
